262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esŭgă (hence the name sŭ̆k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-sŏk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

312 415

412 252 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grindstone (akŏk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngŏk IV) that goes with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (evĭn-ndŏk, efeĭ-ndŏk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏk; fruit, ndŏk IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (asŏk), round as a ball.

415 252 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 252 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbə̀k) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbə̀k I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endə̀n.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbə̀b I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (dzə̌d; plural, biə̌d) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (dzə̌d) and smaller plates (oyə̌k) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

[824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbə̀b I, ebə̌m), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

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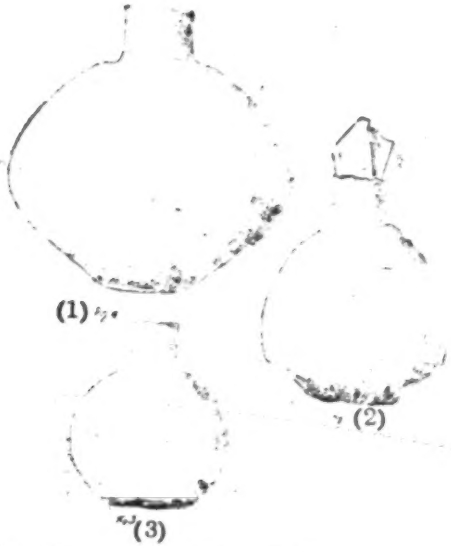

Fig. 92 a. Clay Water Flasks.

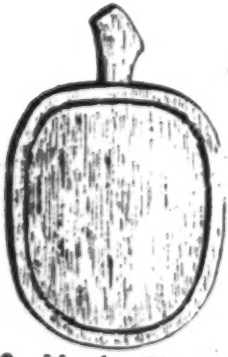

Fig. 93. Wooden Plate for Pulverizing Irvingia Kernels.

Fig. 94. Shoulder Blade of a Monkey (a) and a Tree Mushroom (b) for Cleaning the Grindstone.

● 415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntǒ́no I. The calabash spoon (egbwǎ́s) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebǒ́na, ekǒkǒ́e), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the [321] large Achatina marginata Sw. (kōĭ́) by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tōk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (myé I, yiǒk; plural, lōk) made of clay (viǒk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (myé, viǒk) and smaller ones (obébé) on the pot loft (akán e myé). Through the trading companies, iron pots [117] with three feet (mēkó'ne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

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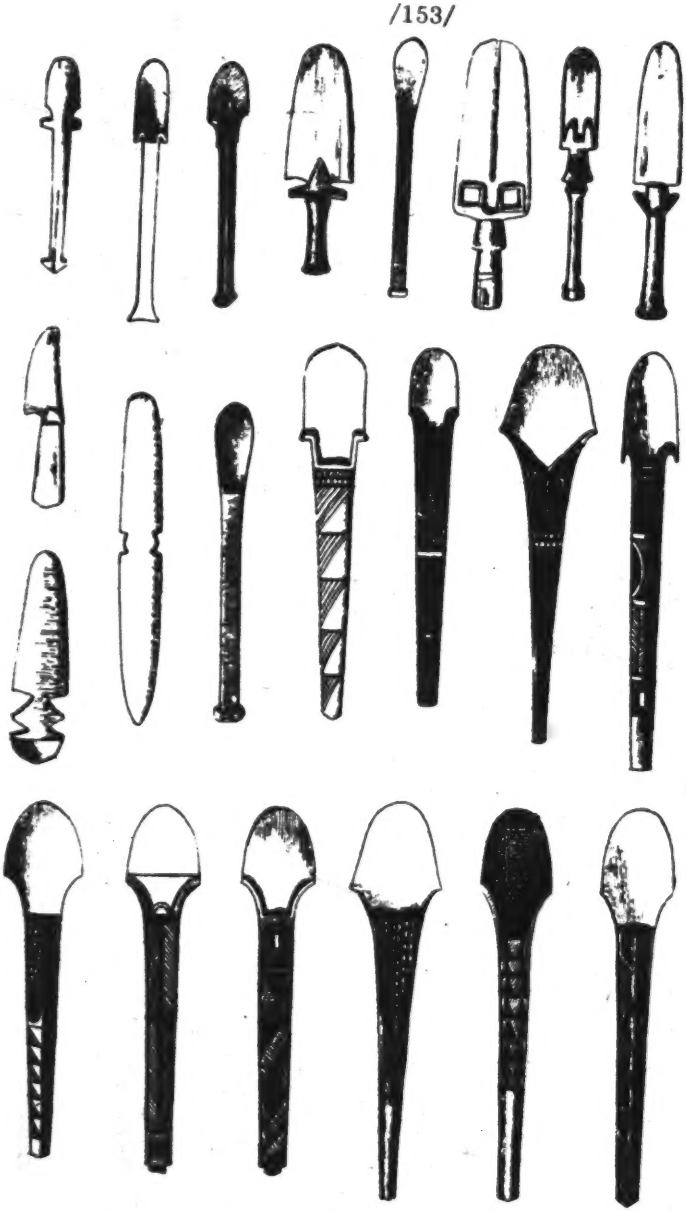

Fig. 98. Stirring Spoons.

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Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

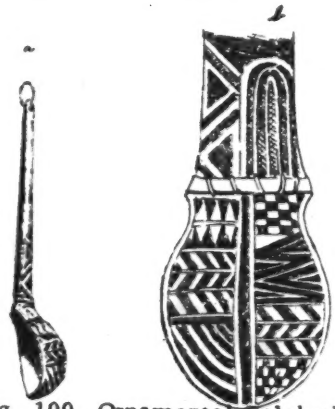

Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons.

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Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndĕ́n IV, ndĕ́nan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baks) K. Sch. (okiằkūī, okiằī) (1), Plate 11, with the species glabrius Laes. /155/ (andū́ma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embūŏ) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

1. okiā́ī = leaf; a kūī = to envelop; stem kū. Compare kū[1], the turtle, because of its armor, and a kū-t = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

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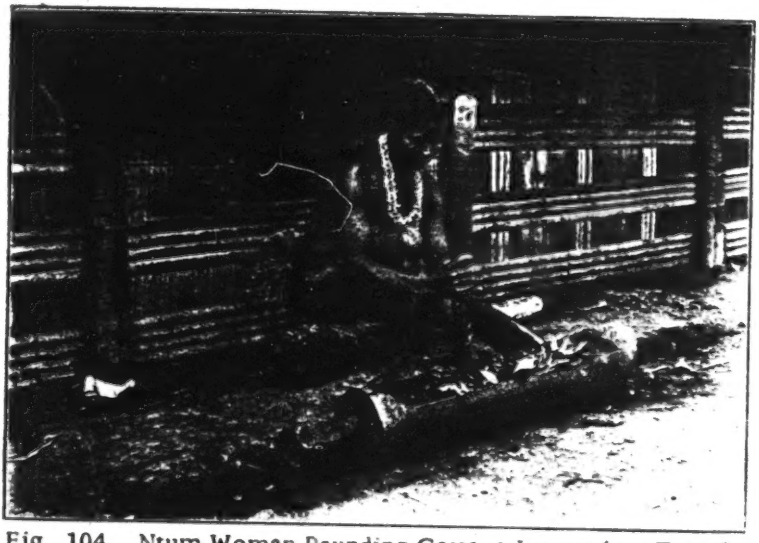

Fig. 104. Ntum Woman Pounding Cassava Leaves in a Trough for Spinach.

252 three or four times, and salt is added. Everything is given another good stirring, and the dish is ready. Sometimes the material is also boiled with a little water in the pot itself.

(b) Groundnut bundle (nnǎm-ewu no I).

As in the case of (a), water is put on the fire in a pot. After the pot has been taken off the fire, the groundnut material is poured into it and stirred up as water is added. Then the mush is put inside a plantain leaf that has been drawn through the fire to make it flexible; the leaf is tied together into a bundle and placed on the fire in a pot of cold water. The pot must be closed at the top with leaves. If the groundnuts are not stirred up with hot water, but, as in this case, are placed on the fire cold, they always have to boil from half an hour to an hour. /159/

(c) Groundnut mush (atǒ ō).

The mass of groundnuts -- prepared as indicated above -- is poured into a pot of boiling water and stirred around. Then it is

264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a šŭ ban a dži) seems ridiculous and un- [57] becoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make [86] this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice [538] fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

264 415 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

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415 put the leaf on a basketwork plate or to serve the food on such a plate with nothing under it.

The men's spoon is made of wood (tǭk; plural, IV or, irregular, matǭk), Figure 105, and occurs in four different forms, each with two subvarieties. The first form resembles our salad spoons; it has either a circular or broad egg-shaped bowl and a flat handle which begins just below its outer surface (a-c). This first form
177 has come from the north, perhaps from the Jaunde and Bene, among whom it is very widespread and popular, and perhaps from tribes located even farther north; in the south it is to be seen quite frequently among the Bulu, quite a lot among the Ntum, and rather more rarely among the Fang. The spoon may have (d) a pear-shaped bowl and a wider handle which starts farther down (I have seen this only among the Fang).

The second form (e-f) consists of a more or less circular, deep bowl and a broad handle attached to the edge of the bowl and bent in the shape of a gable. The handle usually broadens out at the end and is decorated with carved patterns or covered with stamped brass plate. The latter is to be found only among the Fang and, because of the circular shape of the bowl, is called dũma-gǭdǭvǭ'dǭ, "nest of the bulbuls (Pycnonotus)."

A form representing a transition between the first and second forms is exemplified by g where the narrow, unadorned handle of the first form is bent in the form of a gable like the second form. This is found only among the Jaunde. /162/

/Fig. 105 appears here in the original text./ The third form (h-k) has a narrow, oval, shallow bowl which more or less gradually extends into the short, usually flat, more rarely round handle; this form is to be found only among the Fang.

A fourth form (l-n) really consists only of a trough-shaped bowl on which the handle is indicated merely by a gradual depression (accordingly, the form is called kiãi-adzăb = leaf of the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.); it is found only among the Fang.

The women's spoons, that is, leaf spoons, calabash spoons, and snail spoons, have been mentioned above. It may be added at this point that the man also uses these spoons on occasion, especially when he has no wooden spoon at hand or when he is on a journey.

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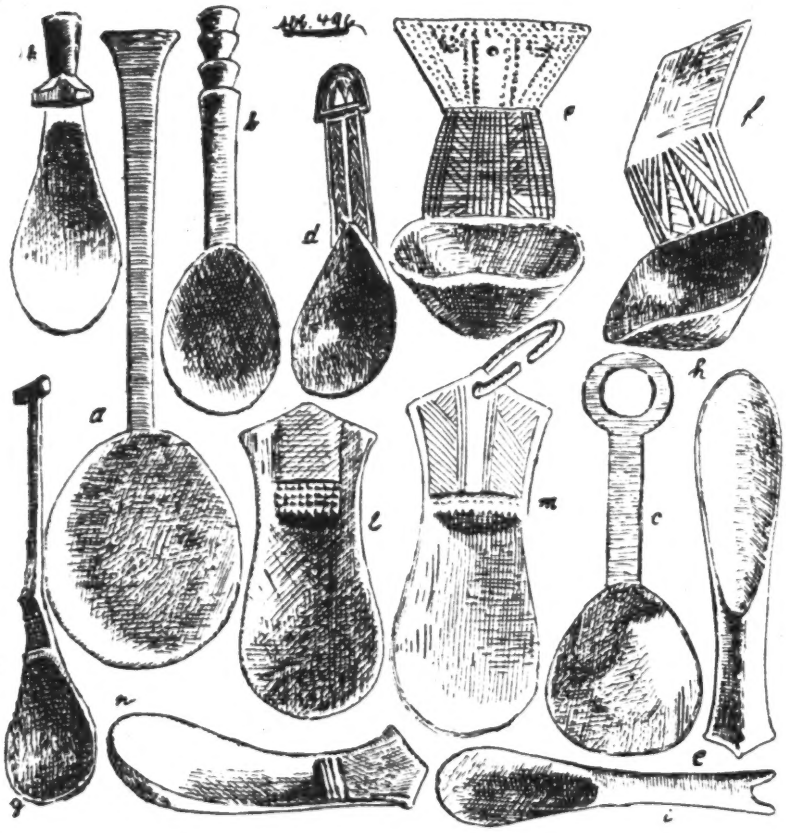

Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

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415 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfǒ̀k). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

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484 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask, or from calabashes (ndǒ̀k IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
445 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angūngū'ī-ndžīk III Ntum, ngū'ī-ndźīk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayǒ[k] me nkō'k)." The latter method of

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Fig. 144. Oil Press for Raffia Palm Oil.
To the left the pulp containing oil is being heated over the fire.

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"With the knife that he had below at his belly, I shall divide him for you."

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A little water is added to the pulp which contains the oil; it is stirred and then placed on a piece of bark to lie in the sun for a few days. It is then put on a frame (Fig. 144, left) and, by means of a fire laid under it, is thoroughly heated for half an hour to an hour. Afterwards it is placed in a little basket, specifically made for this purpose (ekŭt ažū,ī) from the Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), which is squeezed out on the oil press (ekī'le-mažū,ī', efă'ī-ažū,ī). Although this press is made by one man alone, it may be used by all the villagers. In most villages it is set up near the meeting house and consists of a frame -- two posts planted in the ground at some distance from each other with two cross-sticks tied to them -- and of a board cut to a point near the bottom and attached sideways to the frame, that is to say, it is simply tied to the upper cross-stick (as seen in Fig. 144), or it may be held by means of a pole set at an angle in the ground and passing through a hole drilled in the board at the upper end. In order to hold it tight,

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4. Palm seed oil (mbɔ̃n e mbaŋ, maniaŋga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

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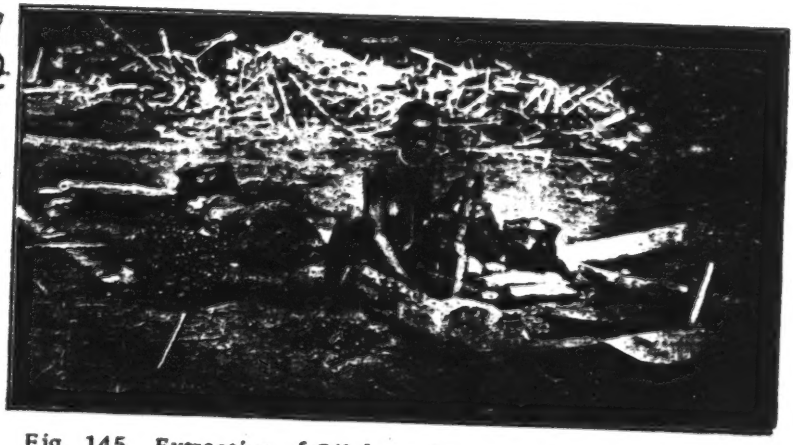

Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

1: Tessmann--198 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

302 822 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

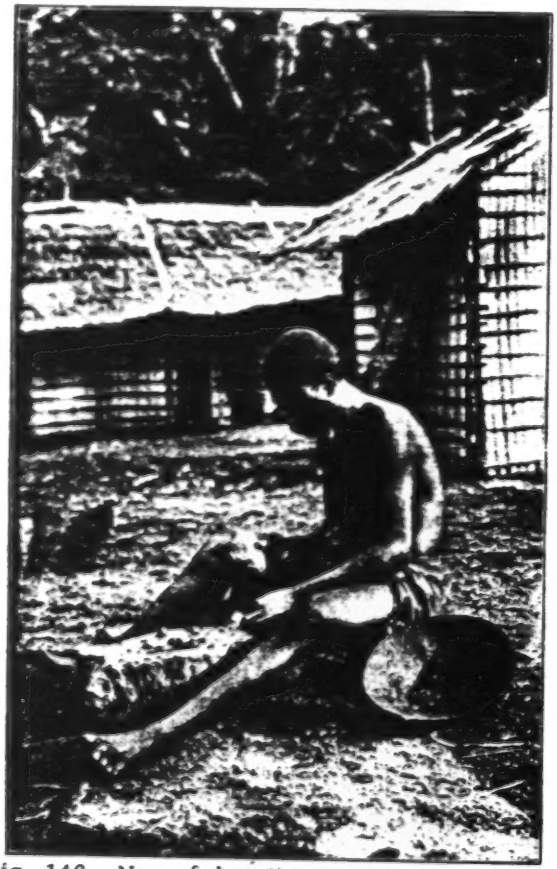

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Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

302 822 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots (bendõ[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bā III, esi) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvõ' IV Fang, mvẽ IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (niăk-esĭ, IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (niĕ-esĭ), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebā'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vūok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfĭ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 304 We recognized the adornment of the body with different objects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

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Fig. 147. Scraper for Red Wood (Husk of the Pentaclethra).

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Fig. 148. Vessels for Red Wood.

314 342 91 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made with an awl (nsŏ́n), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

314 ●415 322 To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekǫ́b). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

415 761 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsǫ́k I (1), since

1. In addition, we find nkǫ́b I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekǫ́b.

n-sŏ-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sŏ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sŏ) in the bark container (action is involved

415 since they first sought a container, e.g. for the skull of the
761 dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sóń, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig.
412 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an ele-
521 phant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok
Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvũ IV), or the wood of the
824 Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzĩtsi) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees
824 (etõ'b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/
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2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (emblõ'ń);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adzĩb-etõb);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akõ'-etõb);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etĩtõ, root to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etõ'b, etõ'b-o-jõb, ejẽĩ, akĩm);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asĩmentũmo Fang, asĩmentũẽme Ntum);

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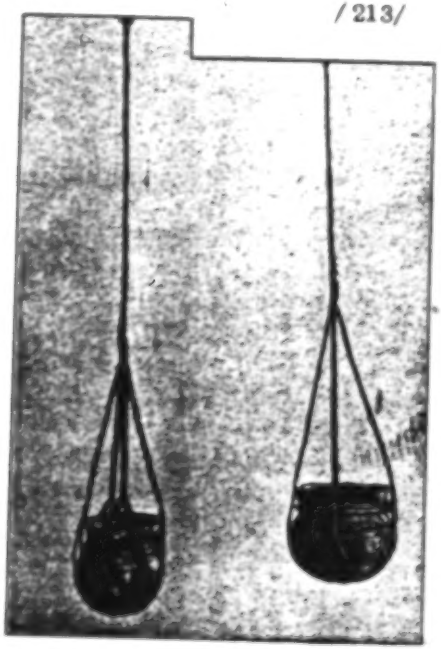

Fig. 164. Mwele Device for Hanging Cooking Pots.

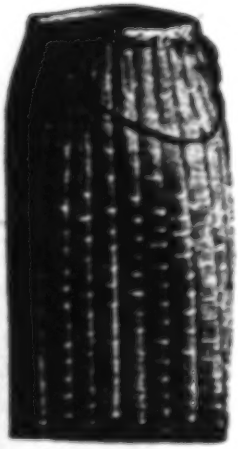

Fig. 165. Storage for Groundnuts.

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283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awŭ'ba, kŭbuga; contracted form, akŭă) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 439] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia 285 stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the 416 side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 The storage basket (angūn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a 251 transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its 415 basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing food-stuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combina- 445 tion of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭn I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndĕn, ndĕnăn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text./

2. Carrying baskets (nkŏē' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

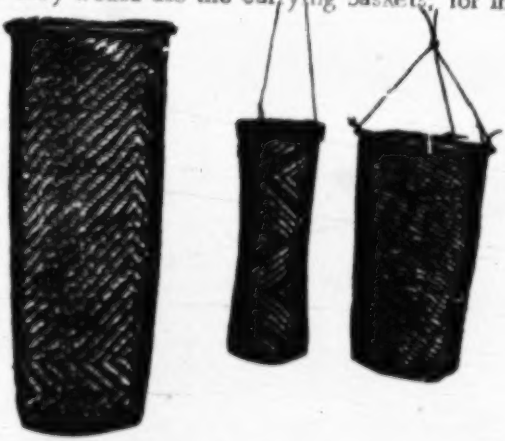

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭt, ekŭt-azŭ̃ĭ' = oil press baskets, ekŭt-ebē = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (azŭ̃ĭ') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebē) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

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5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwā'ś) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edźǐń) (1).

1. This is also used for flutes (ndźǐń I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akǒ-edźǐń).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

285
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[462] The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afǒn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

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[834] 2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkǒē' I, nkbē' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlǒń).

3. Small carrying baskets (okǒkǒē', "small carrying basket," and engā'ne), Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekāńa nǔūt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text./

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebā'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

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Fig. 167. Knife Sheath.

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Fig. 168. Small Carrying Baskets.

1: Tessmann--232 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally. 285 415 482.

5. Rattle baskets (ngōt). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there). 285 415

(6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekátă).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Haussa /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods. [[77 251]]

285 (7) Basketwork plates (dža̋d; plural bia̋d).
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Here (Fig. 171) we have, in place of a braiding strand that runs in a spiral, numerous braiding strands made of strips of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) or of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkŏmonkŏ́mo Fang), which form the quadrangular bottom surface and the basic material of the edge (or, as one might prefer to say, of the wall). In order to make the edge tight and to hold it together, a braiding strip is woven into it, this being a band from the stalks of the Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlŏ́n), the Orchidacea Myrsacidium productum Kranzl. (okŏ́-o-jṓb (1), anžŭ́ma), the Apocynacea Motandra spec. (okŏ́-e-si) (1), or from a raffia pith strip (nkŏ-eš̆ūš̆ū). The position

1. okŏ́ from the root kō = band, rope; o jṓb = above, because the orchid is a parasitic plant growing on trees; o si = below, because the Apocynacea grows on the ground.

of the braiding elements with respect to each other is thus precisely the reverse of that in the true baskets of the second series. /218/

/Fig. 170 appears here in the original text./

285 415 They are manufactured in the following manner. Four strips are placed close to each other lengthwise on the ground and held down with one foot; at some distance from these and parallel to them four more strips are laid down, and so on ten times, so that in all there are forty strips. These are diagonally interwoven with 36 strips likewise arranged in fours, so that each of these diagonal strips always runs alternately over and under three of the longitudinal strips, but so that there are different longitudinal strips at each diagonal plait, for instance:

Diagonal strip 1 lies under longitudinal strips 2-4, over 5-7, under 8-10, and so forth;

Diagonal strip 2 lies under longitudinal strips 3-5, over 6-8, under 9-11, and so forth.

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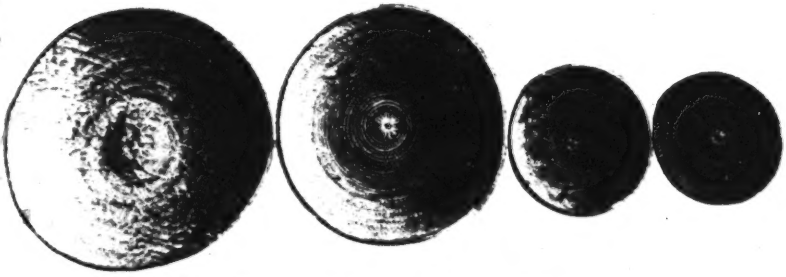
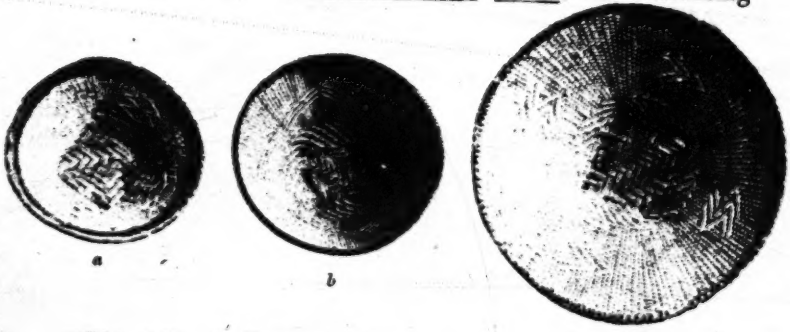


Fig. 170. Basketwork Bowls of the Mwele.

When all the strips have been woven, they are pushed tightly against each other. In this way, a firm quadrangular surface is created, which is held together by one or two bands tied over it in a cross, and the ends of the strips that have not yet been woven protrude from the sides of this surface. These become the braiding strands of the edge of the plate by being bent upward to a greater or lesser degree -- depending on whether the plate is to be deep or shallow -- and interwoven in a spiral form with a braiding strip that always skips one to three of them. /Fig. 171 appears here in the original text./ /219/ In the process, patterns are created through variations in the weaving. Finally, the braiding strip is pulled tight. Gaps at the corners are filled in with independent, short braiding strands that have been bent double. The edge is closed off at the top with a hoop of Ancistrophyllum (nkâne). The braiding



a b c

Fig. 171. Basketwork Plates.

285 415 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovǒk, the ordinary large ones dzǎ̀d, niǎ dzǎ̀d = real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 517 532 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbŏ̄b) is, like their form, fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭŏ́le Ntum, dzǐ́ III, nyṓle III), and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tōk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebắm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fŏ́nege-tōk).

322 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndǒk e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekūk) and the [824] Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

322 534 824 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myē' IV Ntum); bellows are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'ń); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akǒ'm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǎĭ) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

322 411 [824] Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, osǎ bē'ĭ' (1). The

1. sǎ = to split, bē'ĭ' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awǒń), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

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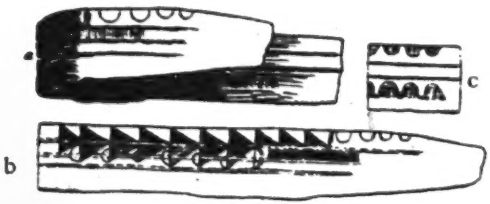

Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

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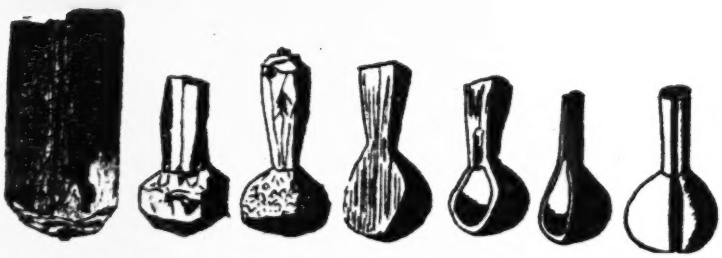

Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

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out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

1: Tessmann--268 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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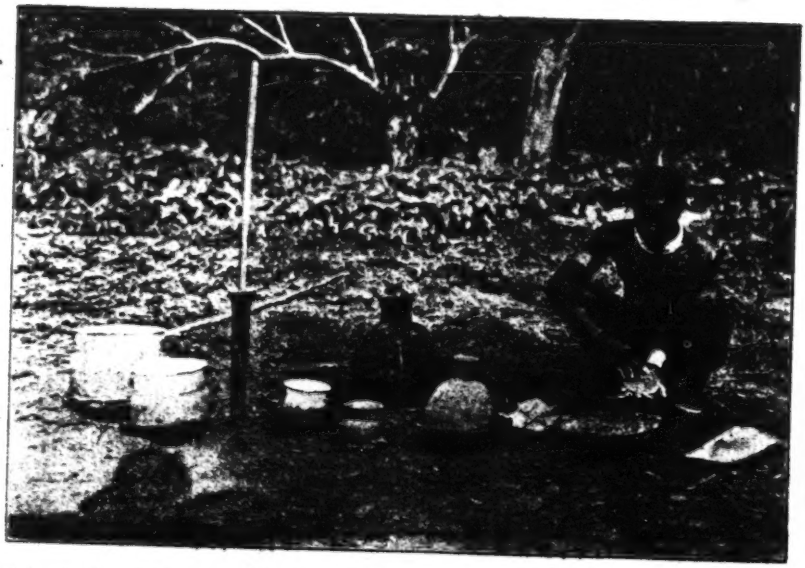

Fig. 194. Potter at Work. Left, the potter's products. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

323 artistically inclined creator could not refrain from providing his handiwork with a few incised patterns, perhaps in my honor because he assumed that I could not possibly have come on account of so "simple" a matter, but must be expecting special artistic achievements from him, so he now had to add something extra.

[531]

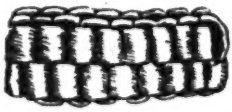

Fig. 195. Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery.

1: Tessmann--282 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 204. Decorative Barks in the form of "Masks."

Fig. 205. Carved Patterns on Stools.

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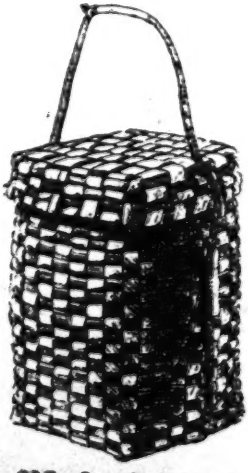

Fig. 207. Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women, made of Pandanus Leaf Strips.

Fig. 206.

Checkerboard Pattern.

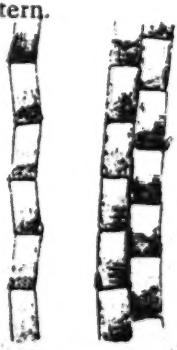

Fig. 208. Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk.

1: Tessmann--302 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9
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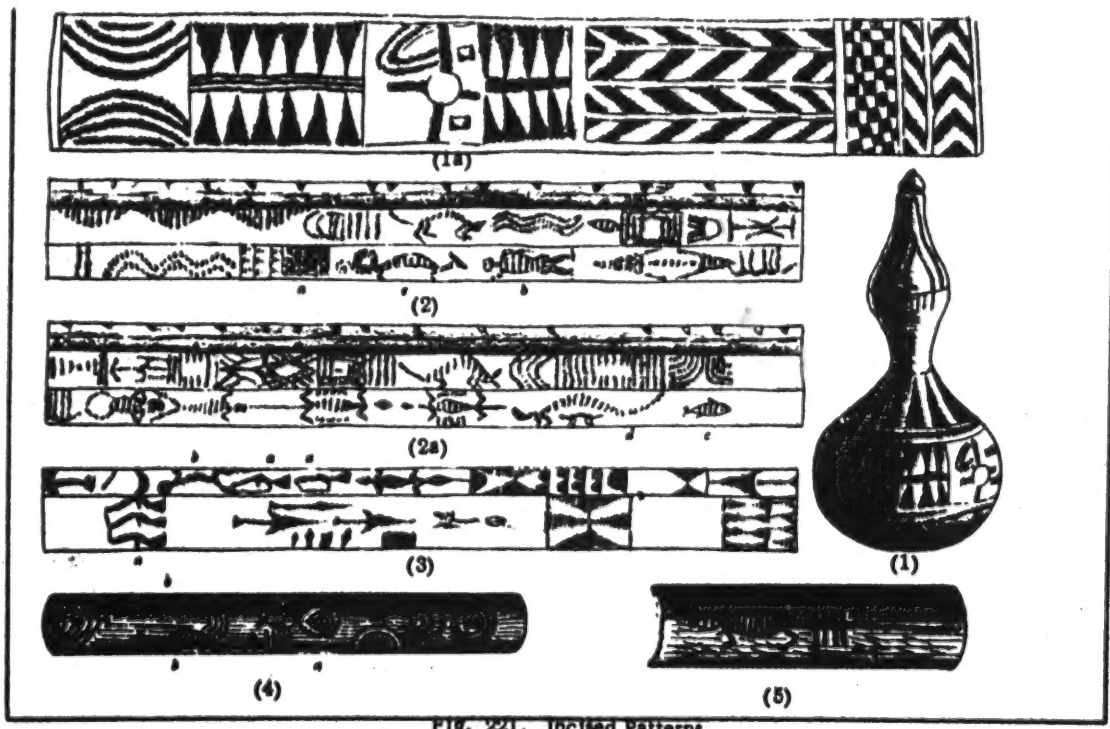

Fig. 221. Incised Patterns.

Drawing 1. Ornamental calabash. Drawing 1a. Patterns on this calabash, spread out. Drawings 2 and 2a. Patterns on a walking stick made from a stalk of Raphia vinifera (spread out). Drawing 3. Pattern on a walking stick made from a stalk of the Raphia Hookeri. Drawing 4 and 5. Patterns of raffia sticks on a bench in a meeting house.

1: Tessmann--340 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XV

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Woman from Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region.

2: Tessmann--8 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 50. Shirt for Mixers of Poisons, Akonangí (Essandun Family), Ntum.

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Fig. 51. Brass Container for Poison, Mandúmu (Ojek Family).

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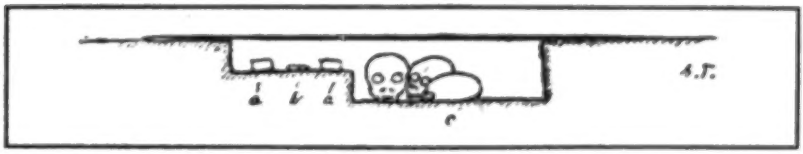

Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.
(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

777 Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the
[824] habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (oyǒn). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the
[801] Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on
[415] the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket
[877] (ebā́dă) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed
[293] a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory,
[622] and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

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[825]
[415]

Fig. 55. Love Medicine, engongeschok (elephant's tusk with love medicine in it).

In the love festival that I witnessed in Ebïangon, the procedure was as follows. On the first day a dance to the accompaniment of drums took place in the festive area. At the dance, the leading singer swung the civet skin around and made a clatter with the inevitable cymbals. The chief and medicine man (they are not always one and the same person) thereupon

[417]

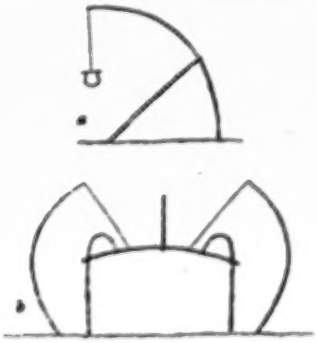

Fig. 56. Love Medicine Festival engongeschok in Ebïangon (Esseng Family).
(a) Pot with love medicine suspended from a rod; (b) frame to deceive the uninitiated as to the purpose of the celebration.

went to the pot, took the bag out, called the participants individually from the circle, asked them to sit down (see Fig. 57), and sprinkled the medicine /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ water on their foreheads in such a way that it ran down the bridge of the nose to the tip. If this did not succeed immediately, the procedure was repeated two to three

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life, [822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

832 769 Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals [826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 783 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and [415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick, [388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of [824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edim), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

411 The chief weapon of the Pangwe today is the flintlock musket.
439 Until the middle of the previous century it was found in our region only in quite isolated instances. Imported since the 1860's and 1870's in ever-increasing numbers by the many newly-founded coastal trading posts, the flintlock musket was a marketable and profitable commercial commodity which since then has so flooded the land that for each Pangwe, at least for each Ntum and Fang, one can reckon three, four, or even five rifles, of which, however, a fraction is unusable. Since 1906 the German government and since 1909 also the French and Spanish governments have prohibited the import of powder, and as a result there has been a noticeable scarcity, especially in the north. Among other things, it has had the effect of putting an end to the great amount of superfluous shooting during festivities, etc., in the Cameroons and adjoining Spanish territory. The small amount of powder which still finds its way from south to north by way of barter is kept in hiding for later occasions.

411 The charge of the rifle consists of small pieces of iron which --
[411] like the powder -- are usually carried around in small containers fastened to the belt or the shoulder bag (mfŏk) (Fig. 78). Frequently, the latter itself serves to hold the ammunition, that is, the pieces of iron which the Pangwe calls by the same name as the [415] spears, akŏń. The containers (Fig. 77) are little pouches made of hide (a), flasks (only for ammunition) attractively decorated with brass (b) and (c), little flasks covered with monitor lizard skin (d-g), calabashes (h), the round fruit of a tree (alo, asun) (i, k), raffia fruit (l), a cacao fruit (m), or other fruit (n-p).

With the importation of powder cut off, the rifles are useless, and it may be that in this way the throwing spear, which formerly was the true long-range weapon of the Pangwe, /Fig. 77 appears on p. 244/ /245/ will again occupy a place of honor, especially since it has never been entirely out of use. To be sure, the spears manufactured today are not as large as those of olden times. They [431] are used more as walking sticks of superior quality or as an ornamental weapon taken along on a journey -- usually people carry two or three with them -- and the natives scarcely know how to use them for actual battle. Only the Jaunde through continued

[Text continues on page 94]

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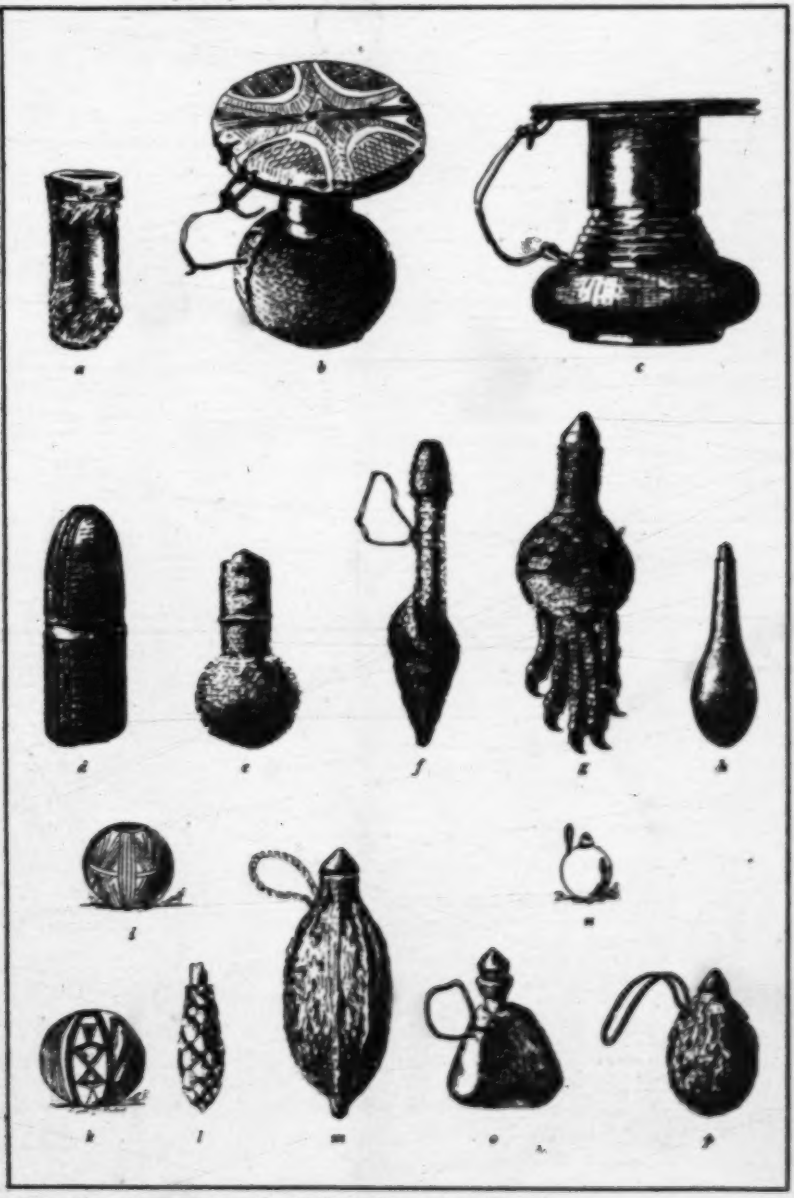

Fig. 77. Containers for Rifle Charges or Powder.

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[415]
[285]

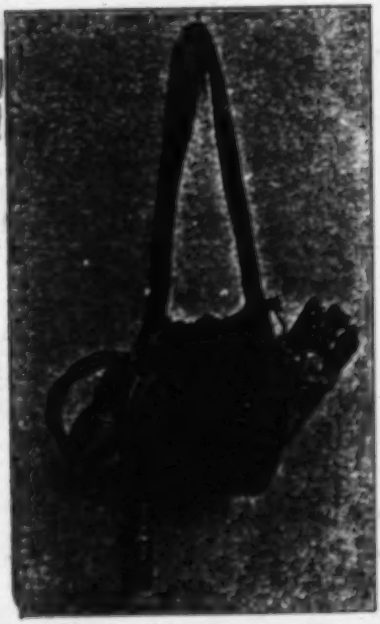

Fig. 78. Shoulder bag of pine-apple fibers, used for storing things and for rifle charges in wartime. To the right, a little basket with "chevaux-de-frise"; to the left, shot medicines and an iron war pipe.

practice have maintained some skill in spear throwing. On the whole, the Jaunde did not go over so exclusively to the use of firearms as did the Fang, for instance, who are quite unable to part from their flintlocks. They even give them human names and love to let them "speak."

The spears (Fig. 79) consist of a shaft and tip. The former is made of wood and is artfully grooved lengthwise, as has been described in the section on woodworking /Ed., Vol. I/. The tip is attached with a socket and forged from iron; in very recent times one could frequently see Ntum chiefs carrying ornamental spears with carefully worked brass tips. The cutting edge has the shape of a more or less oblong leaf, and this distinguishes the different types of spears. The older types among the Fang are gbə̄ń-akə̄ń (akə̄ń = spear) (a), akə̄ń-okə̄k (okə̄k = Okak, Fang people) (a), tə̄mə̄-akə̄ń (e), and mbə̄[s]-akə̄ń (b); of more recent origin, supposedly is the barbed spear, ngə̄'m[k]-akə̄ń (c), and etə̆hə̆k.

The crossbow is only a hunting weapon; the bow and arrow, as well as the slingshot, occur only as children's toys.

The weapons for short-range fighting are the sword and the battle-ax.

The sword (pfə̄ IV Ntum, fə̄ IV Fang) (Fig. 80) has two cutting edges which sometimes end in barbed hooks at the base

314 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
681 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
936 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
818 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yūi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

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511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[573] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

439 A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
441 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

413 Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
194 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
441 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[665] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbòle*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Ebi* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Ebi* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nkw*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mbòa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing